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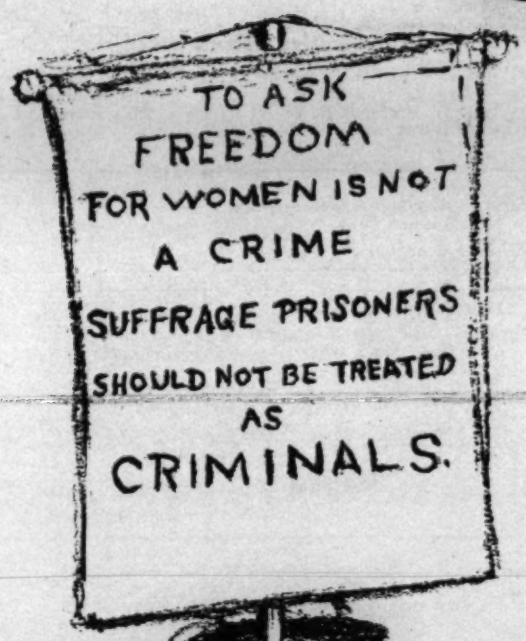
The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1917



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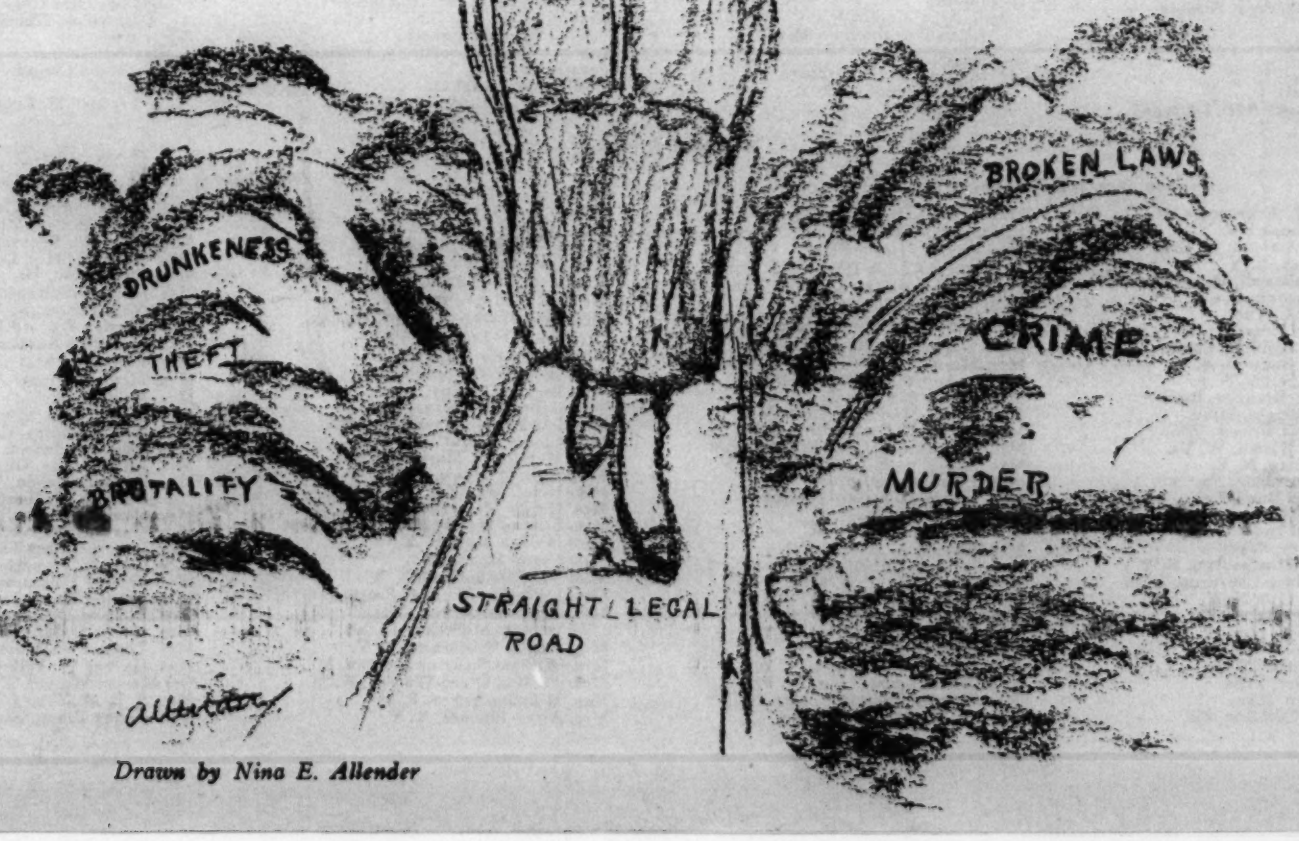

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OBJECT: TO SECURE AN AMENDMENT TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION ENFRANCHISING WOMEN

MEMBERSHIP. Open to all women who, regarding woman suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, will support it irrespective of the interests of any national political party.

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Notes of the Week

New Forces for the Amendment

THE New York State Woman Suffrage Party, assembled at a mass meeting at Cooper Union on November 7, pledged itself to work for the federal amendment, "in order that the suffrage campaign, stretching over a period of more than half a century, may be brought to a speedy close, thereby releasing the energies of the women of the nation from the struggle for political justice, so that with singleness of purpose we may work for world-wide democracy."

The coming of this big organization of voting women into the amendment fight now when only a little more persistence is needed to bring victory to the cause—forced to this position by the National Woman's Party in five years—brings weight that makes a quick victory certain. Their coming into the bigger fight omens well, too, for the larger independent survey women everywhere are beginning to take of social and political questions.

Socialist Help to Suffrage

NEW YORK State lost suffrage in 1907 by 188,200 votes. This year it won by about 187,000. Since the election of mayor in 1913 the Socialist vote in New York City has increased by 110,000. It is, therefore, clear that the victory of suffrage in this election is largely due to the Socialist vote, since this vote in New York City alone would have been enough to swing a majority to the side of suffrage.

The Socialist party, which has always included suffrage in its platform, this year for the first time truly fought for suffrage as a vital issue of its own. Ever since the National Woman's Party started to picket the White House last January, as a direct protest against further delay of justice, the *New York Call,* official Socialist organ, has given it strong support editorially and by telling in fullest detail the true story of government persecution of suffragists. It has put suffrage—national suffrage, and state suffrage as a side issue—into the forefront of consciousness of masses of men and women. New York state and national suffragists both owe to the *Call* and the Socialist Party obligations for the most generous service.

The New Voters

GOVERNOR WHITMAN, of New York State, will send a special message to the state legislature when it convenes in January asking legislation to make possible registration of the women voters in time for the spring special elections on local option. The constitutional amendment goes into effect on January 1st, but the election machinery must be readjusted to accommodate the increased number of voters. There will have to be a redistricting of the state, according to the president of the board of elections.

The first chance to vote will probably come to the women in Brooklyn sometime in January to elect a congressman to fill the place of Representative Griffin, now sheriff of Kings County. Mr. Griffin, Democrat, was opposed to the federal amendment; if Brooklyn women can take part in this election his successor should stand for national suffrage.

Direct Action on Food Problems

IN one city of the United States a big group of women are solving food distribution problems by taking them into their own hands. In New York a marketing club was started some time ago at the home of Miss Susan Osborne, on Fourteenth street. Two days a week women come together there in a covered passageway to buy from the crates of vegetables and other provisions bought by the club's buying committee at five that morning directly from the farmers at the wholesale market and carted to the house by a drayman.

"Making speeches, designing cards, getting a lot of publicity did not seem to us a practical way of solving this question of food distribution about which every one is writing and talking so much but no one doing anything," said Mrs. James Duane Livingston, one of the promoters of the market, "so we sat in the doorway and talked to the women passing in the street about co-operation in buying. Some were rich and some were poor, some suspicious and some not, but we succeeded in getting enough interested to start a club, and this we called the Consumers' Food Club."

On the average the household accounts of members have been cut in half. New clubs have been rapidly formed, the idea being to establish one in every district. The scheme is arousing much interest in New York, where facilities for bringing farmer and consumer together are even poorer than in most cities and prices are most exhorbitant. The food clubs have the endorsement of the Mayor's Woman's Committee, the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, and other organizations. Now that New York women vote the food club has splendid opportunity to grow into a movement that will solve the problems of distribution that men have not cared to solve.

Further Capitulation from Wilson

ON November 9 six members of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, headed by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and Dr. Anna Shaw, went to the White House to thank President Wilson for the open letter he wrote to influence New York voters to vote for suffrage in the state referendum, and to ask him to support the federal amendment.

The answer of the President has not been made public, but it satisfied the delegation, and offers further proof that Mr. Wilson has been forced by the insistence of suffragists to adopt the national suffrage policy. Mrs. Catt states:

"The National Woman Suffrage Association and its auxiliaries have asked a great many favors of him in the last year, and he has done his best to grant every one.

"Today we outlined to him the program we have before us, and he said he did not see any reason why we should not carry it out. We asked if he could do anything to assist that campaign, and he gave us renewed assurances of his sincere friendship for our cause. We believe that he is going to do everything that he can do to help us."

A Service Army

ENGLISH women are being recruited for service in France at the rate of between eight and ten thousand a month. On November 10 the War Department took the first steps in a giant scheme of substituting women for men behind the lines. Women are going into freight stations, warehouses, clerical offices, and even into the Royal Flying Corps. For the last six months they have been cooking for the army messes, and reports show that in every case where they have done this work the food has been better cooked, the cookhouses cleaner, and the men better pleased than with men cooks. In every department women have made for economy. It is said the army of women is about the size of the first army of Englishmen sent to France.

The Battalion of Death

DURING the recent Russian revolution that deposed Kerensky and gave control to the Workmen's and Soldiers' delegates, the women's Battalion of Death defended the Winter Palace. The government forces were driven into the Palace, and under the lively fire of machine guns, the bombardment from a cruiser and the St. Peter and St. Paul fortress, the women's regiment defended them. They surrendered to greatly superior forces only after four hours' fighting.

Women in Russia

THE Revolutionary Committee in Russia which has taken over all government offices, according to a telegram from Petrograd, is, like the deposed government, as a matter of course including women in its councils and machinery. One of its first temporary appointments to government departments is that of Mme. Kolenty, who has been made head of the department of public welfare.

The Suffragist

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THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced
In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.
In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating and Hayden.

Referred
In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.
In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported
Favorably, September 15, 1917.

Present Status
In the Senate
On the calendar awaiting a vote.
In the House
Before the Judiciary Committee.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted
In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced
January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee
In the Senate
1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

In the House
1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon
In the Senate
January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).
March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House
January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

Another King Against a Tide

ON November 12 forty-one women were arrested in Washington for asking President Wilson to pass the federal amendment.

On November 12 President Wilson went to the American Federation of Labor convention in Buffalo and made to labor some admissions of justice he is still too proud to make to women.

He took a long journey to tell labor: "While we are fighting for freedom we must see, among other things, that labor is free. And that means not only that we must see that the conditions of labor are not rendered more onerous by the war, but also that we must see to it that the instrumentalities by which conditions of labor are improved are not blocked or checked."

On that very day women whose condition of enfranchisement has been made doubly onerous by war were being denied the fundamental means of improving their condition—constitutional right of peaceful petition.

"Our duty," President Wilson said to labor, "if we are to do this great thing and show America to be what we believe her to be—the greatest hope and energy of the world—is to stand together night and day until the job is finished."

To labor he offered proof in concrete promises that he is doing his part in standing with it. To women, of whom he is asking the same services that he asks of labor and far greater services in addition, Mr. Wilson is ungenerously and unjustly silent. Suffragists willing to face prison in order to bring a better political order to pass, he was that day having arrested. With labor Mr. Wilson has had to co-operate. With women he has not yet acknowledged he must co-operate.

But if President Wilson ignores what he, as head of the Government, owes women, the country is not ignoring it. If he has no promises of co-operation to make yet to women, the country is nevertheless waiting for them. If he is silent about the one hundred women who, under his orders, have served terms in prison for asking political justice, the country is not silent.

"It is every man's duty," he exhorted labor, "to forget his own interests, to fill himself with a great national and world conception and act upon a new platform lifted to where men have views of the long destiny of mankind."

This is the view the average man, if not President Wilson, is taking of women's political place today. The President knows now that labor must be allowed to co-operate in freedom in the common enterprise of a democratic government. Public opinion sees that women are another group without whose free co-operation any government enterprise is impossible. And this is the reason Mr. Wilson will not be able longer with his little prejudices to hold back the United States against the sweep of the best opinion for national justice to women.

Mr. Wilson's silence toward women, therefore, no longer matters. The time left to him for answering women's appeal for freedom with imprisonment is a short time. When Congress meets again another King Canute will be swept away from his stand by the rising tide. The pressure of party expediency in the face of great political power, the weight of a just public opinion, the movement of world democracy will compel the President to enfranchise women.

Safeguarding the Constitution

An Open Letter to the National Association for Constitutional Government, Washington, D. C.

By W. H. Crichton Clarke

AS a member of the association, a supporter of the United States Constitution, and a lawyer practicing before the New York and District of Columbia bars, I am sending this communication on a subject which I am convinced carries in it grave danger of putting the Federal Constitution in a false light and of unjustly arousing against it the prejudice of powerful political and moral forces which otherwise would be staunch supporters of our fundamental law.

For more than half a century, large and constantly increasing groups of the most able, tireless, intelligent and idealistic women in our country, backed by the support of considerable and increasing numbers of men, have been seeking to induce Congress to submit a constitutional amendment to the several states for ratification or rejection.

LET us keep clearly in mind that this half century's agitation has been only indirectly for the vote. It has been directly *for a hearing;* for that day in the court of public opinion and justice which Anglo-Saxon law guarantees to every man or woman whose rights or liberty are drawn in question. The verdict of the state legislatures for or against could only come after the hearing, but this large body of progressive people has not been able even to secure the preliminary hearing.

The women of the country have been in the condition of prisoners in solitary confinement with the writ of habeas corpus suspended and no opportunity for any one to test the question of the authority by which they are deprived of their rights.

Even now with the overwhelming showing of New York state in favor of that complete democracy for which we are fighting in Europe, we find delegations of New York women begging of Mr. Wilson the gracious favor of a recommendation that Congress should submit this great question to the states for their verdict.

Fellow supporters of the Constitution for which our ancestors fought and died, I voice a truism when I say that this is no time either to vaunt or to exaggerate the inflexibility of our fundamental law. With constitutions of moderate monarchies and autocracies alike changing or revolving overnight, with the cry of democracy abroad in the world, with millions of our sons preparing if necessary to sacrifice their lives for the spirit of liberalism, this is no time to pile on our beloved Constitution the weight and odium of partisan politics and expediency; to use it as a stop-gap to hold back an irresistible tide of political thought in whose favor all the great political parties of the country have declared themselves.

Is there not grave danger to the Constitution in the needless political prejudice which is necessarily aroused against it when it is used not in accordance with its own terms as a means of ascertaining the popular will, but rather, in violation of its spirit, as a means of thwarting any expression of the popular desire one way or the other?

No one would argue for a moment that every political whim or suggestion of constitutional amendment should be submitted by Congress to the state legislatures for approval or rejection, but certainly woman suffrage is not in that class.

There is a widespread feeling in the country that the reason Congress refuses to ask for a verdict on this momentous question is because it is satisfied the amendment will be adopted. That feeling to my mind is the greatest reason why Congress should submit the question unless it desires that all the liberal thought of the country should be directed in stern questioning on the Constitution, to determine whether it should not be amended in such manner as to take away from an antagonistic political group the right indefinitely to hold back a reform which it feels the country demands.

The function of Congress in submitting a constitutional amendment should be first to ascertain whether there is sufficient political demand to warrant the submission of the question, and then promptly to bring the matter to a vote.

There is nothing that places less strain on our institutions than promptly bringing a vexed question to a vote no matter which way the verdict goes, just as nothing puts more strain on our fundamental law than the fostering of a suspicion that it can be successfully used for years as a direct instrument for thwarting the desire of nearly everyone for a show-down on this great question.

The Constitution if it is to endure must be shown to be an absolutely neutral instrument for registering the popular will in the manner provided by its terms. It is dangerous to use it as a weapon for the denial of elemental rights; to use it as a partisan lever by which a small minority can thwart even a counting of heads on a great question.

In the present state of world affairs, we cannot afford to let the idea get abroad that our Constitution is a trench or redoubt for reactionaries. The Constitution is a thing of ages. The reactionaries are a passing phase. Why permit one to become a synonym for the other? Why risk having both swept away together?

Let us all who love the Constitution work for a speedy hearing on this great question of democracy, the right of women who submit to lawful authority to a voice in the Government which rules them.

New York Women Voters Protest to President Wilson

FORTY New York women voters spent Monday in Washington protesting to Secretary of War Baker, Commissioner Gwynne Gardiner and Warden Zinkham against the "atrocious treatment" given Miss Alice Paul, Miss Rose Winslow and other suffragists in the District jail.

They left with one of the White House secretaries whom they managed to see, resolutions adopted at a mass meeting of one thousand of the new women voters Sunday night, demanding the passage of the federal suffrage amendment early in the December session of Congress as a war measure, decent and humane treatment for women in federal prisons, and the release of the pickets. President Wilson, to whom they had written for a week for an appointment without receiving any reply, was out of the city on Monday. When at the mass meeting it was learned that the delegates would not be able to see Wilson, Mrs. Mary Beard, of the National Woman's Party, chairman of the meeting, said:

"We promise President Wilson a very uncomfortable day just the same. He didn't think we would win New York for suffrage, that was why he was so keen about it. We women voters will go to Washington; we will visit Secretary of War Baker. As for President Wilson, we can send word to the White House that we no longer need to talk to him about the federal amendment, that we will deal with him and his party through our votes. We will make ourselves heard in Washington."

The meeting was called by the newly formed Committee of One Thousand Working Women Voters of New York, of which Mrs. Mary Ritter Beard, wife of Professor Charles Beard, is the founder. Practically all the women in the delegation that came to Washington were trade union comrades of Miss Rose Winslow. They were headed by Mrs. Beard, Miss Helen Todd, and Mrs. Cora Smitheman.

Mrs. Beard pointed out to Mr. Baker that the Democratic Administration is rapidly making itself the most hated administration in the history of fifty years by its unjust and brutal treatment of women. "This has nothing to do with my department," said Mr. Baker. "It has everything to do with how the war is carried on," Mrs. Beard reminded him. "I am glad to have met your delegation," was all Mr. Baker could answer.

The delegation visited the District jail after being forced to agree not to reveal anything of what they saw or heard. Miss Helen Todd later admitted that they saw Miss Paul and Miss Winslow, but would make no comment.

"We are not through," said Miss Todd, before the delegation started for New York on the midnight train. "We shall protest on every occasion and through every avenue against the arrest and imprisonment of women exercising their right of petition. As women voters, our first duty is to help women."

Forty-one Suffrage Pickets Answer the Attempthe

ALONG picket line of women has this week again and again held up to President Wilson this demand: "Mr. President, in your message to Congress urge the passage of the federal amendment enfranchising women."

The man who hoped to crush a will for liberty by longer and longer prison sentences and by brutal treatment in prison was answered—by forty-one women representing fifteen of the United States and the District of Columbia. Forty-one pickets dramatized for the country from coast to coast the truth that women, conscripted for national service in a war for democracy, are waiting upon a reactionary President for democracy.

In the late afternoon of November 10 a picket line left Headquarters, walked slowly along Pennsylvania Avenue, and stood guard at the east and west gates of the White House. The fourteen women voters from New York State in this first group were led by Mrs. John Winters Brannan. Home-streaming crowds of government clerks looked at the dignified line with respect and when the police hurried the women with their banners into waiting patrols they broke into applause. Then the crowd caught its breath.

"There come more!"

And another line of golden banners slipped into the sentinel places left vacant by the first arrests. Then came more and more. Group after group of pickets made their demand before they were carried away by the police. For half an hour the gray afternoon was lighted by glowing banners of petition. When the last line appeared, with Mrs. Harvey Wiley at its head, brought up by Mrs. Mary A. Nolan, of Florida, staunchly lifting high her purple, white and gold in spite of seventy years and a frail little body, the onlookers drew up in two lines of continuous cheering and applause. The courage and strength of the picket had won out with the crowd as they are winning out with the nation. "Keep right on," a voice called out from the crowd, "you will make them give it to you."

THE women who picketed that afternoon, were arrested, released on $25 bail—paid by Miss Mary Ingham—and called for trial Monday morning, were:

FIRST GROUP

New York—Mrs. John Winters Brannan, Miss Belle Sheinberg, Miss L. H. Hornesby, Miss Paula Jakobi, Mrs. Cynthia Cohen, Miss M. Tilden Burritt, Miss Dorothy Day, Mrs. Henry Butterworth, Miss Cora Week, Mrs. P. B. Johns, Miss Elizabeth Hamilton, Mrs. Ella Guilford, New York City; Miss Amy Jungling, Miss Hattie Kruger, Buffalo.

SECOND GROUP

Massachusetts—Mrs. Agnes H. Morey, Brookline; Mrs. William Bergen and Miss Cornelia Whitcomb, Worcester; Miss Ella Findeisen, Lawrence; Miss L. Daniels, Boston.

New Jersey—Mrs. George Scott, Montclair.

Pennsylvania—Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Miss Elizabeth McShane, Miss Catherine Lincoln, Philadelphia.

THIRD GROUP

California—Mrs. William Kent, Kentfield.

Oregon—Miss Alice Gram, Miss Betty Gram, Portland.

Utah—Mrs. R. B. Quay, Mrs. C. T. Robertson, Salt Lake City.

Colorado—Mrs. Eva Decker, Colorado Springs; Mrs. Genevieve Williams, Manitou.

FOURTH GROUP

Indiana—Mrs. Charles W. Barnes, Indianapolis.

Oklahoma—Mrs. Kate Stafford, Oklahoma City.

Minnesota—Mrs. J. H. Short, Minneapolis.

Iowa—Mrs. A. N. Beim, Des Moines; Mrs. Catherine Martinette, Eagle Grove.

FIFTH GROUP

District of Columbia—Mrs. Harvey Wiley, Miss Lucy Burns.

Louisiana—Mrs. Alice Cosu, New Orleans.

Maryland—Miss Mary Bartlett Dixon, Easton; Miss Julia Emory, Baltimore.

Florida—Mrs. Mary A. Nolan, Jacksonville.

ON November 12th the forty-one women filed into the District police court for the usual farce of a suffrage picket trial. Judge Mullowny presided. To the technical charge of obstructing traffic, each woman pleaded "not guilty." Police sergeants and plain clothes men mechanically recited somewhat contradictory testimony as to the congestion of the crowd when the pickets were arrested. Witnesses for the defendants, Miss Mary Ingham, of Philadelphia; Mrs. Helena Hill Weed, Mrs. Marie Gasch, and Mrs. Olivia Torrence, of Washington, refuted absolutely the testimony of the police. The judge found the defendants guilty. That was all. It went like clock-work.

The courage of the women, their conviction that they stood legally upon their constitutional right to petition the Government, and their determination to keep up their campaign, be the penalty what is might, was clearly stated by the first of the women on trial to speak. "The responsibility for an agitation like ours against injustice," said Mrs. John Winters Brannan, who was in the first group of women sentenced to Occoquan and pardoned by the President, "rests with those who deny justice, not those who demand it. Whatever may be the verdict of this court, we shall continue our agitation until the grievance of American women is redressed."

The weakness of the Government's position in meeting this spirit in women with force stood out clearly from the confusion and ignorance of a police court trial. In a short time it has played its last card. The heaviest penalty of the law, six months' imprisonment, had been imposed upon the head of the National Woman's Party and four of its members. The organization's reply to this attempt at intimidation was forty-one more pickets, more than half of them voters, standing at the White House gates to petition anew!

Judge Mullowny admitted the embarrassment of the Administration. "The trouble of the situation is that the court has not been given power to meet it," he complained. "It is very, very puzzling."

The case of Mrs. Harvey Wiley, the only picket who engaged counsel, was eloquently pleaded by Mr. Raymond H. Dickey, who exhibited the injustice of the court in these cases, and filed notice of appeal for his client. Mrs. Wiley herself on the witness stand was beautiful and convincing. She said: "I want to state that we took this ac-

the Democratic Administration to Crush Suffrage

tion with great consecration of spirit. We took this action with willingness to sacrifice our personal liberty in order to focus the attention of the nation on the injustice of our disfranchisement, that we might thereby win political liberty for all the women of the country. The constitution says that Congress shall not in any way abridge the right of citizens peacefully to assemble and petition. That is exactly what we did. We peacefully assembled and then proceeded with our petition to the President for the redress of our grievance of disfranchisement. The constitution does not specify the form of petition. Ours was in the form of a banner. To say that we 'broke traffic regulations' when we exercised our constitutional right of petition is therefore unconstitutional."

Woman after woman rose to state her case or to protest for a moment: Mrs. Quay and Miss Betty Gram, from the West, who feel that till all women are free their own freedom is barren; Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, the mother of two sons who have gone to war; Mrs. Stafford, of Oklahoma City, the mother of six children who believes that women must have the right to help in the reconstruction of the world for the next generation; Mrs. Mary Nolan, of Florida, who said she had come to stand with women struggling for liberty in the same spirit with which her ancestor, Eliza Zane, in Ohio, carried bullets to the fighters in the War of Independence.

The judge addressed the defendants about the seriousness of obstructing traffic. He touched upon Russia and the danger of revolution. Suddenly, a little after three o'clock, he dismissed the "guilty" pickets without imposing sentence. He would take their case under "advisement."

AN hour later another long picket line carried the banner of petition and the purple, white and gold again to the White House gates. Twenty-seven of the women just tried, with four in addition, maintained their right to appeal for justice. The new members of the picket line were Mrs. William L. Colt, of New York City, who had come down for the trial; Miss Elizabeth Smith, of THE SUFFRAGIST staff; Miss Matilda Young, of Washington; and Miss Hilda Blumborg, of New York, who recently served a month's sentence for picketing.

The pickets walked all together this time twice up and down in front of the White House in a brave line, and then stood in position against the high iron fence, stretching from gate to gate with their numbers. They stood on guard for many minutes before the startled police gathered their forces and bundled them into commandeered cars that proceeded in striking, bannered procession to the police headquarters.

As the Philadelphia *North American* pointed out, "There was no disorder. The crowd waited with interest and in a noticeably friendly spirit to see what would happen. There were frequent references to the pluck of the silent sentinels."

THE thirty-one women released on bail appeared in court the next morning, November 14th, as they had been ordered. Judge Mullowny kept them waiting throughout the morning's court proceedings, then said he was not yet prepared to try the case, and told them to come back on Friday. His pleasure in a move that the authorities evidently calculated to wear down the spirit and patience of women who had come long distances to make this protest with the sacrifice of time needed for other work, was patent.

The answer of the women to the threat of a wearing out of their forces, as it had been to the threat of a long prison punishment, was another picket. On the afternoon of the 13th the line went out again, thirty-one women strong.

Every woman and man that passed along the Avenue at that busiest hour of the day on Wednesday, will forever remember this third long picket line that dared to persist in carrying its petition to the man who denies women justice. The street was black with people hurrying home from work, but the line made its way staunchly and simply through friendly crowds. Then suddenly banner after banner disappeared, six of them brought down. The bare poles proceeded, carried high in courageous procession. A United States sailor, the same sailor in uniform who dragged Alice Paul across the pavement on August 15, had snatched at the purple, white and gold. But this time the crowd was against him, and the usually complacent police thought it best to arrest him.

The banners stood so long from gate to gate that it seemed probable the Administration had wisely changed its tactics toward pickets. Then the familiar clang of the patrol started the usual routine.

Brought to the station house, the pickets, whose bail had not yet been refunded from the previous day, refused to give more and were held that night in the crowded house of detention. At half past nine the next morning they were tried and finally sentenced. Sentences from six days to six months were imposed as follows:

Six Days—Mrs. Mary A. Nolan, Jacksonville, Florida.

Fifteen Days—Miss Lucy Daniels, Grafton, Vermont; Miss Matilda Young, Washington; and Miss Hilda Blumborg, New York City.

Thirty Days—Miss Belle Sheinberg, Mrs. L. F. Hornesby, Miss Paula Jacobi, Miss Dorothy Day, Mrs. Henry Butterworth, Miss Cora Week, Mrs. P. B. Johns, Miss Elizabeth Hamilton, New York City; Miss Hattie Kruger, Miss Amy Jungling, Buffalo; Mrs. Agnes H. Morey, Boston; Miss Ella Findeison, Lawrence, Mass.; Miss Cornelia Whitcomb, Worcester, Mass.; Miss Catherine Lincoln, Philadelphia; Miss Betty Gram and Miss Alice Gram, Portland, Oregon; Mrs. R. B. Quay, Mrs. C. T. Robertson, Salt Lake City, Utah; Mrs. C. W. Barnes, Indianapolis; Mrs. J. H. Short, Minneapolis; Mrs. Kate Stafford, Oklahoma City; Miss Julia Emory, Baltimore; Mrs. Alice Cosu, New Orleans; and Mrs. George Scott, Montclair, New Jersey.

Sixty Days—Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, of Philadelphia, and Mrs. John Winters Brannan, of New York.

Six Months—Miss Lucy Burns.

All the prisoners, with the exception of Miss Blumborg, were sent to Occoquan. On Friday they will again be brought into court for sentencing on the Monday and Tuesday charges. At this time, in addition to those already serving a sentence, Mrs. Harvey Wiley, Mrs. William Kent, Mrs. William Colt, Miss Elizabeth McShane, Miss Mary Bartlett Dixon and the others who picketed in either of the two first lines will be sentenced.

Country Protests at Administration's Injustice to Women

"TO President Wilson: The treatment given under your administration to American women for asking self-government cannot be longer endured by the self-respecting women of this land. Why are their terms so much longer and their privileges less than those of criminals? Is it so great a crime to ask for democracy at home?

"The only way to put a stop to these just demands is to enfranchise the women of the nation—not fifty years hence through expensive, laborious and often futile campaigns in thirty-six more states, but by federal amendment now.

"CLARA SNELL WOLFF."

The spirit of revolt that inspired this telegram from Texas to the President is the spirit that is more and more powerfully backing up from every part of the United States the fight women at Washington are making for national suffrage. With forty-one women journeying this week from fifteen states to picket President Wilson, with eleven released prisoners going to their homes with the story of how the Government treats women who dare ask freedom, with protest mass meetings in dozens of cities, the campaign throughout the country has been quickened enormously. The understanding widely spread, and openly assumed by the press, that the Administration has been forced to adopt the amendment and intends to pass it early in the next session is everywhere spurring women on to make the last necessary protests and insist that President Wilson shall make this good.

News comes from Miss Anne Martin, carrying on a drive for federal suffrage in the enfranchised West, of new and strong support in Idaho and Utah. "Liberty never has been won by treading the path of submission; submission always leads to continued subjection and defeat," Miss Martin tells the descendants of pioneers whose daring led them across a continent to freedom, and they understand the struggle women are making.

After meetings in Pocatella and Boise, Idaho, Miss Martin went to Salt Lake City, where her telling of the federal amendment fight won most notable support from Senator Smoot and Governor Bamberger. After a luncheon for two hundred women at the Hotel Utah, at which Miss Martin, Mrs. Elizabeth Cutler Jenkins, state chairman of the Woman's Party, and Mrs. Lily C. Wolstenholme spoke; and a mass meeting at Unity Hall addressed by City Attorney W. H. Folland, and Mrs. E. M. Garnett, as well as Miss Martin, Senator Smoot told a deputation of women headed by Miss Martin that the immediate passage of the amendment has his hearty support and that he will do everything he can as a member of the minority party to push the measure. He condemned the arrest and forcible feeding of women petitioning the President. The Governor of the State received Miss Martin, Mrs. Jenkins, Mrs. E. M. Garnett, Mrs. Witcher and Miss Hazel Hunkins at the Capitol and declared for the national amendment.

IN the nearer West, on this side of the Rockies, Miss Mabel Vernon is meeting "intense interest in the pickets and growing indignation against the government that imprisons women when they ask for justice."

In Omaha Miss Vernon spoke at a meeting at the Hotel Fontenelle, at which Mrs. A. R. Colvin presided. Mrs. A. C. Anderson was in charge of arrangements with the help of Miss Jane Pincus, national organizer for the Party. This was followed by a great open air mass meeting, at which the crowd standing for more than two hours to listen, begged the speakers to stay in Omaha so that every citizen could hear the truth about the amendment fight. In Lincoln Miss Vernon and Miss Pincus addressed a mass meeting in the Lindell Hotel ballroom. Mrs. Frank M. Hall, one of the first members of the Congressional Union and president of the Lincoln Women's Club, presided. Many students from the University of Nebraska were present and after the meeting they formed a university branch of the Woman's Party, with Miss Wilma Wood the chairman. The meeting was roused to a stirring resolution.

In Iowa a street mass meeting in Council Bluffs was followed by a conference dinner for the state executive committee in Des Moines, at which plans were laid to make Iowa count in the last push for national suffrage. On the next day a luncheon for Des Moines women was held in the Oriental Room of the Harris Emery. Mrs. Fred Hunter acted as toastmistress, telling in her opening speech of her first belief in the Woman's Party, when on meeting Alice Paul at a Mississippi Valley Conference she thought, "Here is a woman who is willing to suffer and to die for this cause." A strong resolution was sent to the President from the meeting.

In Kansas City, Missouri, a meeting of the Athenium Club, the largest women's club in the state, of which Mrs. Henry Ess is the founder, was roused to keen interest in the picket story by Miss Vernon, unanimously passing a resolution to the President against his treatment of Alice Paul "in the name of American womanhood." Miss Vernon spoke also from Mr. Frank Walsh's car to an enthusiastic street crowd, that threatened to attack the only two men who voted no on a resolution of protest; at a labor mass meeting; and at a Party conference in the Muehlebach Hotel, at which a closer organization for that district was effected and Mrs. Henry Ess was made a member of the National Advisory Council.

Miss Vernon in St. Louis met many of the representative women of the city at a tea arranged for her by Mrs. Edith Barriger, Missouri state chairman, at the home of Mrs. Harry Stegal. Other meetings were those of the Town Club, a socialist meeting of four hundred men and women and a conference luncheon at the Hotel Statler. Five congressmen investigating the East St. Louis riots, Raker of California, Johnson of Kentucky, Cooper of Wisconsin, Foss and Foster of Illinois, were visited at the Hotel Jefferson by members of the Woman's Party, who put before them the Washington situation and the inhuman treatment of Alice Paul. Members of the committee said that in no way can the investigation of this matter be kept out of Congress, and several protests were at once sent to the District Commissioners. Senator Lewis, who was in town at the same time, also telegraphed the Commissioners. Congressman L. C. Dyer, of St. Louis, who has known Miss Paul for several years, showed deep indignation at her persecution and sent this telegram to President Wilson:

"I am horribly shocked at newspaper accounts of the treatment of Alice Paul. Such inhuman treatment ought not to be permitted. I urge you to put an end to it at once."

New York Voters Rally to Amendment Fight

FIVE hundred National Woman's Party members on November 7th sent resolutions to the President demanding that Congress pass the federal amendment at the coming session.

Women voters crowded the ballroom of the Ritz-Carlton that afternoon to hear the story of prison persecution of suffragists and the present situation of the amendment. When they knew the shameful story of this Administration's undemocracy, women volunteered to picket on November 10, gave over five thousand dollars for the Party's work, and sent a ringing command to President Wilson.

Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, New York State chairman of the Woman's Party, presided as chairman of the rally. She was given a tremendous ovation as she took her seat.

The speakers were Mrs. Thomas A. Hepburn, who recently resigned from the presidency of the Connecticut state association to work for the federal amendment; Miss Elsie Hill; Mrs. Frederick A. Kendall, of Buffalo, just released from a sixty-day sentence for picketing; and Mr. Dudley Field Malone.

When after Mrs. Kendall's talk on Occoquan, ten pickets who have served terms in prison took their places on the platform in prison clothes, a gasp of pity sounded through the room and the audience rose to greet them. They were Mrs. John Winters Brannan, Mrs. John Rogers, Jr., Miss Vida Milholland, Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, Miss Julia Hurlbut, Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Miss Elizabeth Stuyvesant, Miss Ernestine Hara, and Miss Nina Samorodin.

"Don't sweetly ask for a thing you should have," said Mr. Malone. "Demand it."

That is the spirit New York women voters are putting into the amendment fight.

Comments of the Press

The Question

ITS logical effect should be seen in a vote by Congress next month for a federal amendment which will obviate the necessity of expending energies in reluctant states that can be saved for war purposes. Suffrage for women is coming irrevocably with democracy—the full and true democracy with which, as yet, we have merely flirted. Mr. Wilson, with most of his cabinet, has declared himself in favor of the measure; all political parties have indorsed it, and most women, in spite of the protest of the antis, want it. What keeps it away? It is obvious that mere statement of an opinion is not enough, action is required—and a leader. Is Mr. Wilson courageous enough to be the champion of the cause of women, and will he wear her colors to the tourney?—*Richmond (Va.) Evening Journal, November 8.*

The Hunger Strike

IT does seem to us that the attitude of the Washington authorities toward the imprisoned women is somewhat outrageous. Granted that Miss Paul, such an eminent leader of a great movement for freedom, is justly in jail, why should she not be entitled to a ration of milk and eggs rather than the coarse fare of abandoned criminals? We do not expect the Government to pamper convicts. But, even convicts are usually indulged the privilege of food from private sources. Condemned murderers enjoy fare as sumptuous as the bounty of friends can afford. Why not women whose only crime is that they (mistakenly, perhaps) carried banners before the White House quoting from the messages of Woodrow Wilson and other immortals? Their "criminal" zeal was surely in a worthy cause—that cause for which patriots have died and been canonized in the calendar of freedom. We cannot reconcile the President's message to the people of New York urging suffrage with the spectacle of forcing prison food down a woman's mouth.

If it be said that the crime of these women was that they paraded for a "federal amendment," whereas the President has stood for state settlement of suffrage, we answer from the news dispatches even of this very day, in which he now urges the federal amendment himself. The election in New York seems to have altered a great fundamental principle, and that alteration, too, at the hands of Hillquit voters, hated socialists and Tammanyites, whose touch, heretofore, has been so polluting.

Yesterday women languished in what was recently shown to be a vermined jail in Washington, because they dared demand a federal amendment even in front of the White House. Today we read:

"Washington, Nov. 9.—President Wilson is expected to support a Constitutional amendment to grant nation-wide suffrage to women. At the coming session of Congress the fight will be carried forward, it is hoped, to a finish.

"That was the unofficial declaration following a conference of forty-five minutes at the White House today between President Wilson and six leaders of the American Woman Suffrage Association."

It would take the fickleness even of woman to follow these inconsistencies; inconsistencies, however, under which women themselves are the sufferers.

We heartily agree, therefore, with the ringing words of Mrs. Belmont, wired yesterday to the White House, as follows:

"As chairman of over 600,000 New York women voters, I protest against the barbarous and inhuman treatment of Alice Paul and Rose Winslow, unjustly and illegally detained in Washington jail.

"Our organization demands they be given the right granted even murderers, to buy the necessary food from the prison store to keep them alive.

"This latest persecution by the Administration is causing dangerous popular revolt against the abandonment of the democratic ideals to which we have pledged our nation."

We trust Mr. Tumulty will be gracious enough to allow Mr. Wilson to see it, and we applaud the courage of Mrs. Belmont, who thus braves the dangers of dungeon life.—*Charleston (S. C.) American, November 10.*

Prophecy

NEW YORK goes for suffrage—an event which Washington prophets interpret as the forerunner of a successful movement in the next Congress for a national amendment.—*New York Tribune, November 11.*

John Milholland Protests

MISS ALICE PAUL, the suffrage leader, who has been committed to seven months' solitary confinement in the Washington jail, is almost an invalid. A mere network of steel nerves about a cast-iron spinal column, she has been in poor health for years. Less than six months ago she was given up by the physicians; they told her she had only three weeks to live. Her tremendous will-power, apparently, brought her through the crisis. It actually seems to keep her alive. But even with nerve centers marvellous in their recuperating power she cannot endure such an ordeal as this inhuman sentence involves. I say inhuman, because to treat a woman as a criminal who has broken no law, but merely asserted her constitutional rights, is a disgrace to democracy, to all forms of civilization.

In the history of English jurisprudence it would be difficult to find a more paradoxical sentence. Dr. Anna Shaw in her appeal some time ago, it is said, called attention to this fact; the violent antithesis between a fine of $25 or sixty days in jail. What shall be said of the contrast between a fine of the same amount and seven months in solitary confinement?

Miss Paul refuses to pay the fine because with her it is a matter of principle and her sentence therefore represents an effort to break down her adherence to principle by a small fine—fifty cents was suggested by one trial judge—or a long horrible imprisonment. The Constitution of the United States she believes to have been violated in her case. The right to picket peacefully has been upheld by the highest courts. She will not compromise her principles, and therefore the inquisition is revived and she is going to be punished; put to death if necessary, to compel her to do something contrary to her convictions.

A more outrageous proceeding cannot be easily found unless it be the big suffrage parade the other day in New York, which, while professing such transcendent interest in prevailing injustice to women, had not one word to say, except in scorn, of these brave, devoted souls who by their courage, suffering, and consistency have kept the cause of woman's suffrage alive during the past two years, and in the midst of war's alarms and truckling to power have compelled the attention of Congress and the Government to it.

A braver, clearer-visioned body of American women does not exist, and in the name of the living and the dead I protest against the proposed judicial murder of a group like Alice Paul's, whose adherence to principle and unselfish disregard of consequences, however pitiless, make them a unique asset of this Republic, whatever be their suffrage views or political opinions.—*John E. Milholland in the New York Evening Post, November 8.*

Ought to Stop Some One Anyhow

THE New York victory will greatly enhance the chances for the passage of a federal amendment, and it ought certainly to *stop American women being locked up in a workhouse* merely for petitioning for the right perhaps three-quarters of a million of the male electorate of the greatest state in the Union has just said they should have. We are not defending those who violated the laws in Washington; we are speaking of the *many who are unjustly in jail, who should have had the protection of the Washington police, instead of being sentenced to unfair punishments by a petty and arbitrary police judge.* If the President does not now use his pardoning power as he did before, Congress, let us hope, will end the necessity for any kind of campaigning on behalf of this cause. It should lag behind neither the conservative British Parliament nor the radical governing bodies of Russia.—*New York Eevening Post, November 7.*

Accepting the Worst

IT is quite likely that the greatly heartened women, here and elsewhere, who have already gained by the justice of their cause and by the ability of their proceedings the privilege of the ballot, will turn their efforts now to securing an amendment of the federal constitution which shall do for the whole Union of States that which has been done in New York. This is bound to come, sooner or later. It will merely hasten the equalization of the suffrage by recognizing in the fundamental law that which either is or is to be an accomplished fact. . . . And while it is coming, more and more academic and inconsequential will seem the theoretical distinction between separate state action and accomplishment by means of federal amendment.—*The New York Sun, November 11.*

Still Crying in Prison

EVER since the war broke out suffragists have been pointing to woman suffrage as a war measure. They have been virtually of one mind on the subject. Woman suffrage is no whim, no toy, no something to be given women as a reward of virtue or when "other and more important matters are disposed of." It is a concept fundamental to democracy. For America to enter upon a world fight for democracy with woman suffrage left out was to be guilty of an omission against which logic, and justice, and women, and democracy itself, must cry aloud. And they have cried aloud. They have cried aloud, and ever louder, as the country has gone about the concrete business of battle while ignoring an essential of the principle for which it is to battle.—*The Woman Citizen, November 3.*

Honest Democracy

"IT is time for the people of the states of this country to show the world in what practical sense they have learned the lessons of democracy; that they are fighting for democracy because they believe in it; and that there is no application of democracy which they do not believe in."

No application of democracy in which we do not believe? Then woman suffrage should be made general to this Union—to its every commonwealth—within the period of this war for democracy!

Shall we relinquish to these political divisions both the responsibility and the good repute; shall we require honest and consistent democracy only of Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, California, Arizona, Kansas, Oregon, Nevada, Montana, Alaska, Illinois?

Shall we yield the leadership of thorough democracy to abroad—to Russia, France, England, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Finland, Norway, Denmark; even to little Yucatan and Iceland? Shall we make light of the significant fact that even in certain districts of Austria, Germany and Hungary—our anti-democratic enemies—women who own property are allowed to vote on matters of communal interest and welfare?

There is little we do not ask and nothing we will not take in the way of national, communal and economic service by American women—and this was so before the war, and it will be after the war has triumphantly re-established the safety of universal democracy. But there is much that we withhold from these women—chiefly the essential honor of that democratic civic status which their service deserves and demands. For the righting of this injustice, for the application of this basic form of democracy, the democratic world is indeed watching America!—*San Antonio Express, October 27.*

Which Do You Do?

"WE don't picket, we pickle," is the new slogan of the suffragists of Mahaska county, Iowa.

Women have pickled for a thousand years in homes and factories, and their pickling has never brought them one step nearer to political equality.

We may expect decidedly more for the future of womanhood from those suffragists who do not pickle but picket.—*The New York Call, November.*

True Words

FOUR more suffragists have been sent to jail in Washington for quoting the President on their banners for liberty. And the subterfuge excuse for their arrest was blockading traffic, when the real reason was "annoying Woodrow."—*Miami (Fla.) Daily Metropolis, October 25.*

Treasurer's Report

Treasurer: Miss Mary Gertrude Fendall
Assistant Treasurer: Miss Maud Jamison

Bank of Deposit: American Security and Trust Co. Washington, D. C.

Auditors: Marwick, Mitchell Peat & Company

$300,000 00 RAISED FOR SECURING PASSAGE OF THE FEDERAL AMENDMENT—CONTRIBUTIONS FOR ANOTHER $100,000.00

List of Contributions from Nov. 2 Through Nov. 7, 1917

Contributions made to National Headquarters:

Mr. Harold S. Howard	$ 10.00
Miss Sophie H. Dulles	100.00
Mrs. Thomas S. Holmes	10.00
Mrs. M. M. Lockerby	5.00
Miss Fanny C. Amidon	25.00
Miss Edith B. Newman	1.00
Miss Adeline P. Gibson	25.00
Miss Sophie Tour	5.00
Mrs. John Rogers	15.00
Mrs. S. M. B. Young	60.00
Miss Ida M. Ostrum	5.00
Miss Maud Malone	1.00
In memory of the Fighting Women of Russia—Mr. M. McAllister-Smith	50.00
Mrs. K. G. Halligan	10.00
Miss Rose Kiefer	5.00
Miss Edith Starr	5.00
Miss Helen Burns	10.00
Mrs. L. W. Wilson	2.00
Mrs. Hugh Mackenzie	2.00
Miss Mary E. Hawley	5.00
Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer	1,800.00
Miss Anita L. Bulmer	1.00

Miss Ella Riegel	200.00
Miss Edith B. Newman	5.00
Miss Eliza Tonks (collected)	5.00
Miss Edith Hall	5.00
Miss Ida F. Hallock	1.00
Mrs. Frank Heney	5.00
Mrs. Sophie G. Meredith	1.00
Mrs. E. M. Dean (collected)	2.00
Mrs. Avery Coonley	1,000.00
Mrs. Richard Wainwright	25.00
Mrs. Sara C. Loomis	10.00
Per Miss Virginia Arnold:	
Miss Louise Lewis	10.00
Miss G. Sturges	1.00
Mrs. Kent's Committee:	
Mrs. W. T. Burch	25.00
Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley	25.00
Richland Center Woman's Club	25.00
Mrs. Wm. S. Colt	25.00
Elizabeth T. Kent	20.35
Mrs. James Whittemore	25.00
Mrs. Lawrence Lewis	50.00
Mr. Shippen Lewis	50.00
Collections	33.43
Membership Fees	21.50
Total collected by national Headquarters	$ 3,722.28
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	274,705.10
Total collected by National Headquarters through November 7, 1917	$278,427.38

CONTRIBUTIONS TO STATE HEADQUARTERS

Contributions made to Oregon headquarters:

Mrs. S. K. Black	$ 1.00
Mrs. L. Eaton	.50
Mrs. J. W. Hawkins	4.00
Mrs. J. Gillis	.50
Miss Caroline Sherar	3.00
Mrs. H. E. Starrett	1.00
Mrs. J. B. Montgomery	1.00
Mrs. W. B. Gilbert	3.00
Miss Marguerite Mcguire	.50
Miss Emma Wold	10.00
Mrs. Harriet Curtiss	1.00
Dr. M. E. Stratton	1.00
Miss Gertrude Talbot	.50
	$ 27.00

Contributions made to Massachusetts headquarters:

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Mrs. Henry Hastings	1.00
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Mrs. J. M. Sweatt	5.00
Framingham Branch	15.00
Miss M. W. Allen	4.00
Mrs. Edward Lawrence	5.00
Miss A. C. Murdock	3.00
Miss Grace Henshaw	20.00
Mrs. H. T. Carret	9.00
Mrs. G. B. Newell	10.00
Mrs. R. G. Fuller	12.00
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Mrs. Edwards	100.00
Mrs. R. G. Fuller	24.00
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Miss Alice Mitchell	10.00
Mrs. Helen B. Gilman	5.00
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Miss Elizabeth G. Marot	5.00
Mrs. Harriet E. Butter	5.00
Miss Camilla G. Whitcomb	25.00
Miss Agatha Laughlin	10.00
Miss Carolyn B. Ranger	3.00
	$ 348.19

Contributions made to Colorado headquarters:

Mrs. S. F. Hamp	$ 10.00
Mrs. M. F. Blum	5.00
A Friend	5.00
Collection	6.47
	$ 26.47

Contributions made to Michigan headquarters:

Mrs. George L. Sampson	$ 5.00
Mrs. F. C. Osborn	5.00
Mrs. John T. Woodhouse	5.00
Mrs. Dorothy Earle (collected)	8.00
	$ 23.00

Contributions to South Dakota headquarters:

Mrs. A. M. A. Pickler	$ 5.00
Total collected by Branches	$ 429.66
Total collected by Branches through November 7	$ 38,769.98
Grand Total	317,197.36
DEDUCTION:	
Transferred from Branch Headquarters to National Headquarters	2,261.00
Grand Net Total	$314,936.36

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